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ABSTRACT

This paper postulates that the television media in the United States is reflecting the country's culture-at-large. To be marketable, photojournalists adjust their nonverbal behavior to the cultural changes of the time. To prove the point, documentation culled from the Vanderbilt University Television News Archive is provided from the three major networks during the period 1968-1998. Future research could perhaps determine the impact of societal changes on the television performers. (NKA)

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The function of nonverbal behavior in television reporting in the United States of America

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Abstract

The paper postulates that the television media in the United States of America is reflecting this country's culture-at-large. To be marketable, photojournalists adjust their nonverbal behavior to the cultural changes of the time. Documentation to prove the point is provided from the three major networks during the period 1968-1998.

Resumé

Cet article pose la thèse que le comportement des presentateurs à la télevision des Etats Unis réfléchit le comportement de la population générale du même temps. Leur comportement change avec le temps tant que chez la population générale. La thèse est documentée en analysant le comportements des présentateurs des trois chanels principaux durant les années 1968 à 1998.

Introduction

The research I am presenting is part of the area of pragmatics which can be broadly defined "as a cognitive, social, and cultural perspective on language and communication" (6th International Pragmatics Conference 1998: 70).

My research in nonverbal behavior is based on the dynamic paradigm governing all aspects of living which, by definition, are in constant flux and mutual interaction. As Labov has so well expressed this concept for spoken language, it represents "an approach in which language is viewed not as a static structure but as a dynamic social system, which is continuously moving, changing, interacting, and working" (Meeuwis 1998).

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Looking at a particular gesture in isolation is an artifact of the analysis. In the naturalness condition, the entire body participates in the conversational expression and the meaning is purveyed through the gesture cluster (von Raffler-Engel 1996: 296). This does not mean that throughout the history of gestural expression clusters necessarily change in their entirety. Change in nonverbal behavior parallels change in spoken language which manifests vowel change, word change, grammatical change as well as change in pragmatics, that is change in usage.

Equally, parallel to verbal discourse, the sequence and the combinatory arrangement of gesture clusters is culture-specific and varies over time. Like vocabulary items, specific gestures are mostly stable even though some gestures, same as words, may become obsolete or change in meaning. Discourse, that is the meaningful sequential combination of spoken language and nonverbal expression, the speed with which it occurs, its intensity and its loudness are determined by the social rules of the occasion and the psychological state of the communicator.

The latter are governed by how the culture-at-large defines each particular event depending on its degree of formality, the familiarity among the participants and their homogeneity or diversity with regard to sex, education, profession, social status, to name a few. We know that the perception and the reaction to the above-mentioned conditions differ among cultures and sub-cultures. What has been explored to a far lesser degree is how gestural behavior changes over time within an identical sub-culture.

What I have observed in my studies is that over a short period of time the basic configuration of each gesture tends to remain stable. What changes is its frequency and its forcefulness and the increase or decrease of the parts constituting the gesture cluster. Change can also come when the energy the communicator puts into a stable configuration of nonverbal behavior decreases or increases in its repetitiveness, like in eye blinking or head nodding.

Purpose

My research is not concerned with the content of what is shown on television nor with advertisements or plays. It is restricted to the analysis of the nonverbal behavior of anchormen and reporters. I will show that their gestural behavior reflects the corresponding behavior of the population-at-large. It may reinforce the mannerisms of its time, but it does not create them. Newspapers and television are designed to sell. They give the consumers what they are likely to buy. Murphy Brown has not invented unmarried motherhood, she simply shows the mores of the time. When the nonverbal behavior of the population-at-large undergoes modifications, the television presenters follow suit. This parallels the use of vocabulary that has changed in meaning. Reporting on a meeting of gays has nothing to do with whether these people were happy or sad.

The media does not create the culture, it reflects it in order to retain marketability. Contact sports are violent. People pay to see them. Television reflects culture. It does not create culture. At most, it reinforces it. Violence is part of present-day American culture. My research will show how changes in the society-at-large are reflected on the television screen.

In this paper my research is restricted to the nonverbal behavior of one particular category of television personalities and a very conservative one, anchors and reporters.

Television presenters, like actors, are paid depending on their ratings. The manner in which they report, how they look and how they dress has to be appealing to the viewers. Most of all, they have to be believable. For this reason, in a certain sense, the viewers have to identify with them. They have to fit their culture. The model is not the announcer but the viewer. Advertisers know this very well. Their TV ads fit the culture and the sub-culture and constantly adopt to changes. On American TV, beer guzzling sports fans used to be all Anglo males and now we see minorities and women. For research on cultural differences in advertising see a paper I presented in Seoul over a decade ago (von Raffler-Engel 1986). I wanted to expand this type of research, but my university was not ready to fund it neither in time release nor research assistance. I have since retired and continued this research on my own with the cooperation of a Japanese university. It should be ready for publication in a couple of years.

Preliminary Research

Being involved in nonverbal research as well as in cross-cultural communication I was an avid watcher of television in whichever country I happened to be. I took ample notes and occasionally designed some primitive sketches. The observations I made sensitized my understanding of differences in gesticulatory behavior when reporting on very similar events. Analyzing a talk show made it especially clear to me that the television industry depends on

how well it sells to the public (von Raffler-Engel 1984).

Coherent research became possible only after the Vanderbilt University Television News Archive was established in 1968. With the technology of the late nineties, it is now possible to retrieve video images from wherever their original is stored. This was not possible thirty years ago, and the founding of the Vanderbilt Archive constitutes a milestone. At the time it involved a highly controversial discussion over copyright laws, but, for the good of research, Vanderbilt University came out a winner. The Archive covers the evening news of ABC, CBS and NBC starting in 1968. In October 1989, ABC's *Nightline with Ted Koppel* was added and in 1995, coverage was extended to *CNN World View*. In addition to these standard reports, the Archive also provides special coverage for unpredictable events of importance such as presidential debates. The copies are in black and white only until 1978 when the Archive finally could afford color, which is very expensive.

I used the Archive extensively during the years I taught Nonverbal Communication and, of course, I watched the news in the evening at home. I became curious about the impact of the sixties on the behavior of the television announcers. At that time, all around me I saw that the students started dressing for classes like they were going for a stroll in the countryside and the professors seldom showed up with formal ties. Hand gesticulation increased and facial expression became more animated.

Before that time, if I well recall, official speakers on television did not move their heads

sideways. All they did was move their heads up and down. This is an automatic movement when reading from a telepromptor and as such falls under the category of "action movements" (von Raffler-Engel 1996: 301). Action movements, like blinking one's eye when hit by a sudden light, carry no expressive meaning. The shoulders remained stable, and that's about all one saw of the announcer anyway. If a reporter was standing outside, he too was generally quiet in his movements. All spoke in impeccable "Philadelphia English" with the minimal intonation curve. They wore dark suits, white shirts and "business style" ties. And they were all men and all white.

In the late sixties one can gradually observe a slight change. In 1968, Walter Cronkite of CBS was shown down to his waist. He was sitting erect even though his hands were shoveling papers on his desk. Then he reported the news with his arms still albeit his head learning slightly forward.

The sixties brought about a cultural revolution. In the college classroom, the effectiveness of the authoritative "lecturer" was challenged. The professor was supposed to become a "facilitator helping the students to interpret the data on their own." Eventually, as time progresses, we see large footage of actual events. We are told where they happen and what they are about, but reporters are not talking all the time.

Starting in the seventies the technical potential of the cameras increased greatly, but this, I believe, just made it possible to present the facts first-hand. The decision to utilize this

facility was culture-based. People want to see and judge for themselves. Sometimes the anchor is quiet and the facts "speak for themselves." Other times, there is a reporter on location who speaks and points, and sometimes one can hear the reporter without seeing him--or her. Indeed, the number of women reporters has been increasing, even in militarily dangerous zones.

The feminist movement changed the culture and the media complies. The earliest women reporters dressed in "power suits." Then, in the eighties and even more so in the nineties, femininity is in and gradually professional women will even wear sexy attire. While the earliest women reporters looked as stiff as their male counterpart, they now move their heads sideways and their arms punctuate what they say.

In the nineties we no longer have only stern, authoritative reporters. Their appeal now emphasizes that they circulate among the people about whom they are reporting. In 1998, the white shirt is sometimes exchanged for a light blue shirt. It is still plain and one of color only. The ties are quiet but have lighter hues than the ties of the previous decades. The reporter looks ever more like the viewers. One is reminded of the teacher who from authoritative lecturer has become participating "facilitator." Broadcasters do not create the culture, they conform to it. As I said above, television is a business and sales are highly competitive. Telecasters are not missionaries that want to provoke changes in society.

As opposed to talk show hosts, anchormen and other news providers are not allowed to express personal views. They are to be neutral. But can they? Only up to a point. A small

research project I did with a student in my course in nonverbal behavior at Vanderbilt University revealed that it is virtually impossible to control all of one's behavior and eventually our personal opinion will manifest itself (Wynne and von Raffler-Engel 1984).

As these unconscious manifestations of personal opinion are veiled and as the coverage of events during the news hour is rather fast moving, they are generally not detected by the viewers. Whether the television presenters like or dislike their clothing styles and their nonverbal mannerism is fairly irrelevant. In this they are no different from the employees of corporate America, and the expenses the latter incur to conform to the new styles of "casual Friday."

Peirce himself recognized that his three categories of iconic, indexical and symbolic are not mutually exclusive (Peirce 1940). Television reporting is a good example of the intertwining of these three categories. In addition to the fact that pure iconicity is humanly impossible, providing the news is not its only purpose.

As Schaefer (1997: 70) points out, quoting others that have said this before, the goal of television is often more to appeal to "ratings" than to "high minded notions of informing the public." Even if its purpose were strictly to inform the public, a certain amount of indexicality is needed to connect with the public and get the message across. There is a high degree of symbolism in the way the photojournalist presents himself. An anchor dressed in a fishing outfit would not be taken seriously when reporting about the impending war in Kosovo.

In this brief, preliminary research I have concentrated on nonverbal behavior. I have not covered paralanguage, empty and filled pauses, levels of loudness, intonation curves and other features of communicative expression which are closely correlated to nonverbal behavior. A detailed analysis of the nonverbal behavior would have covered all these pages with just one single photojournalist. The following are my findings presented in the hope that somebody with more energy, time and funding will take on from here with a greater number of subjects and a more detailed analysis of each of them.

Research Design and Method

The work I am presenting is a case study. The data are empirical and their analysis is primarily quantitative. After looking at the television news reports preserved at the Vanderbilt Television News Archive I selected a number of well known photojournalists and copied some of their presentations. Given the lack of time and funding I could not copy as many samples as I would have liked to analyze. As the samples were selected at random, I believe that what I studied is significant even if it is not exhaustive.

I did not file pictures of the culture-at-large throughout the same period of time because these are easily accessible in the newspaper files at the public libraries. I also assume that most people can recall the behavioral rules of the last thirty years of present-day life in the United States. The research covers photojournalists during the time period from 1968 (when a record is available after the founding of the Vanderbilt University Television News Archive) to 1998 (present-day).

Subjects

The photojournalists studied are the following:

Males	Females
David Brinkley	Connie Chung
Tom Brokow	Nancy Dickerson
John Chancellor	Jessica Savitch
Walter Cronkite	
Peter Jennings	
Frank Reynolds	

I list male and female presenters separately because the behavioral changes appear more complex among the women than among the men. This parallels the population at large. The major changes in the presentation of men on television, in soap operas or general footage of events, is that now men are seen with babies in their arms and in other situations previously reserved for women.

These strictly cultural changes are due in part to the impact of the women's movement and probably even more so to the deterioration of the financial situation of the middle class when the earning power of one man's paycheck can no longer feed a family. When both have to go out to work they start sharing the home chores. The other reason why now there are more women in television and radio is due to technical advancements. Voices in the lower frequencies carry better at a distance and above extraneous noises than voices in the higher frequencies. I recall that in the sixties when women applied for positions in radio or television they forced their voice to carry a lower pitch.

Analysis

David Brinkley - NBC Anchor

August 5, 1968

Brinkley seems to be seated albeit one sees only the upper part of his chest. His shoulders are sloping slightly. At a certain moment he touches his head with his arm. At some point he moves his body slightly backwards, apparently to be seated more comfortably. Towards the end of the presentation he seems to be sinking deeper into the invisible chair. Then he adjusts his arms and looks more informal.

When close to finishing he has a broad smile on his face while squarely facing the audience. His up and down movements of the head and the eyelids are far less frequent than among other television presenters. He either speaks from concise hidden notes or knows better than most how to conceal the image of the telepromptor. During the show Brinkley shortly introduces several reporters. They all are seen briefly on the screen.

December 7, 1990

Brinkley, as usual, is seated on an invisible chair. He moves softly from side to side and his shoulders are slightly slumped. At about the middle of the presentation he rocks back and forth and moves his head up and down more pronouncedly than during the rest of the time. His unseen hand seems to touch note papers on an invisible desk and one hears a slight rustling noise.

What, if any, are the behavioral changes between 1968 and 1990? They are very subtle but

clearly uni-directional in favor of greater informality. It would be good to have pictures from an earlier time to see whether before the mid-sixties there was any change from a more authoritarian style to the present informal one.

Tom Brokaw - NBC Anchor

January 13, 1986

Brokaw here is reporting from New Orleans rather than his office in N.Y.C. He has a very expressive face and moves his shoulders but in the beginning he appears a bit stilted. He anchors a long footage about budget cuts. Many individuals are shown on the screen. Whenever Brokaw is seen looking at the filmed footage he shows a smile on his face. Thus the story is not just background but part of his presentation. Eventually, he says something funny and smiles again. Thus, Brokaw appears in a somewhat ambiguous position of authoritative anchor and occasional participant.

March 29, 1990

After a short appearance of the anchor, a large picture of Gorbachev is seen on the wall and eventually Brokaw is no longer visible but keeps speaking throughout while other pictures appear. We are in the nineties and "team work" is the fashion in industry. On the television screen, we see a commentator about the events more than a presenter.

January 18, 1994

The telecast is on location in California. Brokaw is seen in casual attire standing on the right side. He holds a microphone in the right hand while the other hand is not seen. After a

break he has taken his jacket off and looks ever more casual in his open-neck shirt when he turns his head back and starts speaking. After some anonymous reports, Brokaw announces the reporter Brian Williams who is visible and wears a tieless shirt.

May 19, 1994

Brokaw is covering the death report of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. At first one hears only his voice, then he becomes visible seated at his huge desk. The reporter of the event in New York is Brian Williams. Williams eventually is shown in a large picture on the screen next to the picture of Tom Brokaw. This gives the impression of about equal importance of the reporter and the anchor. Brian Williams is on the way up and later, on occasion, substitutes for the main anchor on NBC.

John Chancellor - NBC Reporter, 1968 & 1970; Anchor 1980

August 5, 1968 Reporter. His anchor is David Brinkley.

The picture opens showing a spacious room with a large semi-circular desk at the center-back. Behind this desk is the reporter holding a microphone in his hand and wearing headphones around the neck. The earphones come in handy later on when he is reporting in open air and thus without the telepromptor. This way he can listen to instructions from the central news office. He seems to be in standing position, but he can be seen only up from the waist because the table is in front of him. He moves his head up and down and gives the impression that he is reading from papers on the desk that cannot be seen. As his head is down in the reading position for far less time than he is facing the audience, he is either very good at remembering long stretches of what he has read or he is really looking at the

telepromptor. The latter may be more likely because he does not pause when he looks down.

December 7, 1970 Reporter.

Chancellor is seated and his chest is leaning slightly forward. His right arm is moving like he was shoveling papers. What makes this presentation different from most others is that this reporter is in a back and forth conversation with his anchor.

Whether this more egalitarian approach to the anchor-reporter relationship is due to the growing stature of John Chancellor or to the culture-at-large where all people are supposed to feel like equals is hard to tell.

September 16, 1980 Anchor.

Chancellor, who is now an anchor, is seen in the same seating arrangement as when he was a prominent reporter except that now the desk seems to be larger and is equipped with a telephone and a typewriter. The purpose of the typewriter is not clear except that it suggests written notes possibly composed by the presenter himself. Viewers do not generally realize that anchors are only mouthpieces for what writers have prepared digesting the news and organizing it to fit into the time slots between station breaks. The anchor is well paid and is an established public figure. The writer is unknown and underpaid. The public does not really think about the writers, just as the public does not realize that the anchor may be reading from a telepromptor.

How many people actually think of telepromptors? I had many persons look at my VCR with

the presentations I am covering in this paper. Not a single one thought of it and all remarked how well the photojournalists establish eye contact with their viewers. Telepromptors were invented in 1951 and I myself did not know about them until I visited a television studio in the mid-sixties.

Chancellor is seen with his full chest, arms and hands. This is a novelty because before photojournalists seldom exposed more than the upper chest and one could see their shoulders but not their arms. When they appeared like looking at papers, one seldom saw the arms, mostly only the hands showed in isolation with the papers. The speaker was really all head.

The eighties were the decade of the body. Among intellectuals the medieval dichotomy of mind and body was finally challenged. Anchormen started having arms and hands and not just a face. John Chancellor shows both arms and hands while in the sixties David Brinkley at most showed one hand when he touched his head. But for his time, Brinkley's hand movement was revolutionary. It is hard to tell whether it was natural or contrived to look natural. To a viewer like me, Chancellor as well as Brinkley look spontaneous.

Walter Cronkite - CBS Anchor

October 23, 1968

Walter Cronkite was one of the most popular photojournalists of the last thirty years and is still well known and well liked. When the screen opens he is seated and his hands are seen laying on the desk. Then they touch papers that are visible on the desk in front of him. Eventually, he begins speaking while moving the papers in front to the back of the pile, one

paper at a time while he looks at them. It gives the impression that the papers contain only brief notes to prompt his memory because he looks at them for too brief a time to be able to read from them. He either has an excellent memory or actually reads from the telepromptor. All the while, he moves his head not only up and down but occasionally also from side to side. He often also moves his eyebrows. His facial expression is very lively and so is the whole person when he occasionally moves his body forwards.

What makes him different from most other telejournalists is that he does not seem to stare into the audience from a fixed position but moves his body like he were in an informal meeting with a group of people. He definitely comes out like a "facilitator" more than a "lecturer." His popularity may be due to his being ahead of the time compared to most anchors.

March 4, 1981

As said before, Walter Cronkite was ahead of his time. This even more apparent on this later tape. Here he sits at the huge desk, but not at the center of the desk. We see the whole room full of equipment and with some people in the back. Cronkite is seen whole waist with his arms and hands and the ubiquitous papers are fully visible on the desk. When he speaks, his chest remains fully visible as do his hands.

Eventually, Cronkite introduces the reporter Robert Purpoint. Then we hear but do not see Tom Brokaw who introduces the topic of El Salvador and we see pictures of the country and its politicians while Cronkite speaks but is not seen. Then the topic switches to Mozambique

and Cronkite is visible again full chest and his hands showing.

After this Cronkite introduces Caspar Weinberger who takes the dais. The anchor is seen in the background on a yellowish-colored screen. After this Cronkite introduces Bill Jones while looking at him. Eventually several reporters are announced while the anchor turns his head toward each of them.

While there are pictures in the background Cronkite is seen with his hands turning the papers on his desk. He looks at these papers one second at a time while he talks. Eventually, Cronkite is seen in the center of the screen against the same plain yellowish screen. Then various pictures become visible in the background. Eventually, the anchor is dwarfed by the pictures of the real events.

Peter Jennings - ABC Anchor

August 31, 1982

Jennings is seated and his upper chest is visible. His head expressively underscores what he is saying. The presentation starts with a brief report on demonstrations in Poland followed by a report on a plane crash while pictures of the crash are shown on the wall. After this Jennings mentions the reporter John McWethy who then shows up. A large visual coverage of the crash is the background for McWethy's extensive comments.

The disproportion of time spent with the political upheaval in Poland versus the far less

important plane crash is symptomatic of this time. Still today, the sensational attracts more viewers--or newspaper readers, for that matter--than international political news.

January 13, 1986 Co-anchor with Ted Koppel.

These two co-anchors are in different cities and talk to each other over the air in a very casual manner and the audience must gather the news from their conversation. But when Jennings reports on terrorism he gets animated and strongly underscores what he says with his head movements. Terrorism was indeed a major issue discussed at this time.

March 29, 1990

Jennings is seen full chest and his face is very expressive. He even shakes his head when saying "no." The early nineties were the time when nonverbal communication came to be officially recognized as an academic discipline. It is not clear whether photojournalists were encouraged to use more body expressions decided to do so on their own, either by natural inclination or by showmanship.

May 20, 1994

Anchor Jennings is seated and his chest is visible almost to the waist and both of his arms are extended. The event on the screen is shown very extensively. This is, after all, the death report about Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. Jennings looks at the footage shown on the screen while slightly moving his arms. He appears to demonstrate sincere interest as he talks while the show is covered on the screen. He moves his head to both sides and his behavior does

not look rehearsed. The people on the street are interviewed at random. Interestingly, a reporter is here called a collaborator. We have come a long way from when reporters were often heard and not seen.

Frank Reynolds - ABC Anchor

April 5, 1968

Reynolds is seated and shows only the upper part of the chest. His shoulders are slightly bent forwards. The only movement is the up and down motion of his head, which is likely the usual motion that accompanies reading from a telepromptor.

August 31, 1982 Co-anchor with Peter Jennings.

The picture opens with a view of the entire newsroom in the back of Frank Jennings. Then the view of the newsroom becomes less clear. Then, while Reynolds is talking about events in Poland, we see a stylized map of that country in the back. The anchor keeps talking and does not point to the map. Somehow the background and the speaker are disjointed.

Connie Chung - CBS Reporter

March 29, 1990

Connie Chung, many people told me, was their favorite television announcer. Indeed, she combines a clear professional enunciation with graceful, moderate feminine movement. She equally appeals to men and women. She is beautiful and has the grace of the successful woman of the nineties. She is also "politically correct." Being Chinese satisfies the need for "diversity."

For this presentation she wore a dark suit and the top of a white turtleneck was showing under the jacket. Her jewelry consisted of medium size loop earrings. She wore moderate make-up and her hairdo was simple but soft and slightly longer than that of other female announcers. She moves her head and also her shoulders and is seen full chest.

After a short break Chung is seen without the jacket and the sweater with the white turtleneck turns out to be a black-and-white argyle sweater. In this section she interviews the captain of the Exxon Valdez concerning the oil spill in the Atlantic. After the interview Chung is seen back at her desk wearing the jacket over the sweater and seated at the center of the picture.

May 19, 1994 Co-anchor with Dan Rather.

Chung wears the same black jacket but with a white v-neck blouse and a strand of pearls. Her medium size loop earrings appear the same as before. Her hairdo is slightly more casual, parted at the side and not in the center. Chung moves her head up and down and sideways in a lively fashion. Her facial expression is animated with expressive movements of the eyes and the eyebrows.

Nancy Dickerson - NBC Reporter

August 5, 1986

The reporter is standing still and only her upper chest is showing. Her eyes appear to be alternating between looking at her audience and down where she is supposed to have some reading material. Her hands are not seen but the arms along her sides seem to point to papers

from which she is reading. Of course, the viewer cannot tell whether she is reading papers or--more likely--just looking at the telepromptor.

She is dressed in the "power suit" of her time. Her dark blouse is closed at the neck and she wears no jewelry except for a round pin that seems to fasten a scarf matching her blouse. Her hair is short and neat and she does not appear to wear make-up.

Jessica Savitch - NBC Anchor

July 31, 1982

Savitch is joined by a reporter (Rebecca Bell) who is heard extensively but is not seen. After the break another reporter (Andrea Mitchell) joins Savitch. Contrary to Rebecca Bell who is not seen at all, Mitchell is seen albeit only fleetingly. When she is introduced, she wears an elegant grey summer suit. Her neck is covered by a scarf and adorned by a double row of pearls. It is to be noted that a woman anchor has two reporters that are also women.

While the women in the sixties dressed in "power suits," Savitch represents the new breed of feminists. Instead of blending in with the men they assert their femininity. Savitch wears a pink silken dress with a moderate v-neck. Her jewelry consists of a small golden necklace and medium sized bangling earrings. Her short hair is soft but not flowing. It seems to be colored to look more blond than natural. She wears lipstick and moderate make-up.

At the beginning Savitch is seated and her hands are shown briefly shoveling papers. Then

only her torso is shown. Then, at a station break, her hands are shown clasping each other, then pushing papers away.

Savitch is standing throughout and her only movement consists in her eyes going up and down in the natural motion for reading from a telepromptor. Her facial expression is smiling and she gives the impression to look at the audience. At the end she has a broad smile.

Conclusion

Have I adequately proven my thesis? Probably not because the number of subjects is limited and I did not follow a large enough number of telejournalists throughout the years they performed in order to investigate differences in individual profiles.

But I believe I have adequately shown that it would be difficult to disprove my theory and I have thus opened a legitimate area of research. What is my hope for the future? That some university or a research organization, or--best of all--a television network, will sponsor an individual or a group to conduct an exhaustive inquiry into the impact of societal changes on the television performers.

What is the function of nonverbal behavior for television announcers? It is to make the viewer have confidence in the photojournalist by creating a feeling of identification. As the culture of the viewer changes so does the culture of the presenter.

A very important function of nonverbal behavior for television presenters is to help them to be good actors. While reading from the telepromptor their eyes have to foster the impression that they are gracefully looking at the audience and their hands have to shovel papers as if they were reading from them. They have to change with the times and mix authoritative credibility with empathy. It's not an easy job but, to compensate, their salaries are very high.

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